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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

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goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position.

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled.

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the

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Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL. (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

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there may be other traditional ways of acquiring status. The literature mentions none, although Ernst (1887), Jahn (1927), and Hernandez de Alba (1936) make detailed comments on the two traditional ways described here.

Incidentally, these two leaders are never called by their first names, not even by their closest relatives, and are referred to as To'olito Silva and To'olito Fernandez.

To illustrate the new way of acquiring status in Guajiro society it is best to describe quite fully how one individual, and as far as the writer knows, the only one, whom we shall name José Perez, has reached a certain status though employing none of the traditional methods. As guide and interpreter of the present writer during the recent field trip, José Perez was in constant personal contact with the author, who was able to obtain valuable first hand information and observe reactions to personal and intimate questions.

First let us give a brief biographical sketch of José Perez. Perez is now 46 years old. He was born in the village of Castilletes, Venezuela, in the extreme north-eastern part of the Guajiro peninsula. His father (still living, now in the town of Paraguaipoa, Venezuela) has no trace of Indian blood and is considered in Paraguaipoa as pure white, while his mother (deceased) was a pure Indian belonging to the Uriana Clan. Perez's father took him, while still a child, to Maracaibo for schooling which included three years of high school. At that time Perez's father was quite influential in local politics in Maracaibo and was able to get the Governor of the State of Zulia interested in the youth. Perez was given a small position in the State's government, where he was employed for about ten years. During this period he married a local white girl with whom he had a child (now in his fifth year of medical college, State University of Zulia) and apparently had all but forgotten the Indian half of his heritage settling into the whites' ways of life.

Perez went into politics and was elected Prefect (an office similar to the County Sheriff in the United States) of the Paez district, Sinamaica, in the threshold of the Guajira, so to speak. He moved north to his district leaving his family in Maracaibo. This return to a semi-Indian district apparently had some influence in Perez's outlook for the future, for as soon as his term of

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159 554 office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

159 554 583 614 585 During his term as Prefect of Paez (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of To'olito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Uriana clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Uriana clan he had to contribute in the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the [595] Guajariyú clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, is his native household at the Laguna del Pajaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajiro tradition polygyny is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

159 595 It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To test this point the writer, after the

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two days' visit at the home of Panchito Silva and while returning to Paraguaipoa, asked Perez how many wives he had had. Perez was obviously quite upset by the question, but did not hesitate in answering: "Oh, no, Mr. Santa Cruz! I have and only have had one wife, Anita!" (Anita is his Indian wife). Whether the motives for the denial are of a personal nature or involve some cultural complex is unknown to the writer.

Nevertheless Perez leads a perfectly discernable dual life. He has two homes, as described, dividing his time between them, devoting about 40% of the time (when he is not working) to his Maracaibo home, and about 60% to his Guajira home. He has two sets of friends which he is very careful not to mix. His plans for the future of his son are entirely along white cultural lines. At this point we find contradictory thoughts in Perez's mind. The present writer has heard him repeatedly criticize the attitude of certain Guajiros, both full-blooded and half-breeds, who, having gone to Maracaibo for formal education (especially to Teachers' College) have then sought, and in many cases obtained, positions in Maracaibo instead of returning to the Guajira to practice their professions. Yet when it comes to his own son, Perez's plans are for a permanent residence in Maracaibo or, if possible, Caracas, where he could go into practice in an entirely white cultural background.

The problem now is to define Perez's status in the Guajira. Undoubtedly his personality has some importance in Guajiro social stratification, especially among his own generation. This importance he has attained by granting favors, which his semi-official government positions enables him to do, to those whom he thinks will, in the future, be of help to him. Perhaps this is best illustrated by an example. The Ministry of Justice, through the Comisión Indigenista, grants ten scholarships annually to Guajiros who meet certain educational requirements. These scholarships are for the State of Zulia Teachers' College in Maracaibo. Perez has been given, more or less, a free hand in the selection of the candidates for these scholarships. About 65% of the candidates chosen by Perez, in the four years that the plan has been in operation, have been admitted to the College. The writer was able to look briefly into the family back-